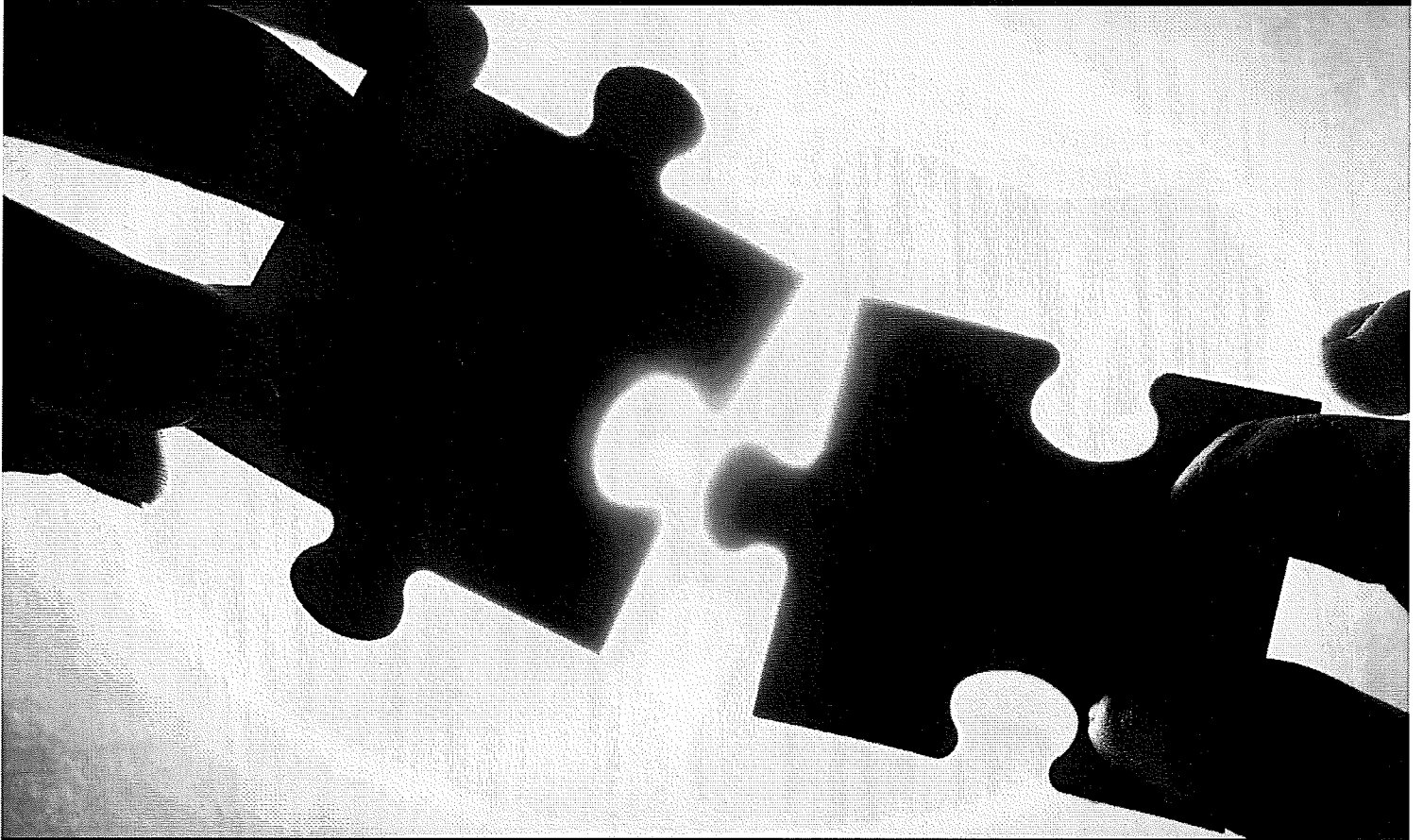


# Reshaping County Government:

## A Look at City-County Consolidation



*February 2012*

**NACO** *National Association of Counties*  
  
*The Voice of America's Counties*

# Reshaping County Government:

## A Look at City-County Consolidation

*February 2012*



### About the National Association of Counties

The National Association of Counties (NACo) is the only national organization that represents county governments in the United States. Founded in 1935, NACo provides essential services to the nation's 3,068 counties. NACo advances issues with a unified voice before the federal government, improves the public's understanding of county government, assists counties in finding and sharing innovative solutions through education and research, and provides value-added services to save counties and taxpayers money. For more information about NACo, visit [www.naco.org](http://www.naco.org).

**A Publication of the Research Division  
of NACo's County Services Department**

**Written by**

**Kathryn Murphy  
Senior Research Associate**

**February 2012**

**For more information about this publication or  
the programs included, please contact:**

National Association of Counties

Research Division

☎ Phone: 202.393.6226

📧 Website: [www.naco.org](http://www.naco.org)

# City-County Consolidation

## Introduction

The concept of city-county consolidation is a prominent idea in local government reform. The opportunity for increased efficiency or economic development drives local leaders to consider consolidation as an option. While the ability and ease of consolidation varies by state, the important issues that must be addressed in a consolidation charter, such as taxing districts and government structure, are constant throughout prior consolidation attempts. This issue brief examines the key components of forming a consolidated government and provides case studies of five localities that attempted consolidation.

## County Government Consolidation Background

A city county consolidated government is a formal joining of a city or multiple cities with a county to form one government. The one unified government performs all the functions of both the city and county government.

City-county consolidated governments are different from independent cities. The cities of St. Louis and Baltimore, for example, are isolated cities not located within a county jurisdiction. These cities generally provide the services usually provided by a county. In addition, there are 39 independent cities in Virginia that are located outside of a county.

## History of Consolidations

The first city and county consolidation was in 1805 with the merger of the city of New Orleans and Orleans Parish.<sup>1</sup> Other major metropolitan areas followed including Boston-Suffolk County (1821), Philadelphia-Philadelphia County (1854), San Francisco-San Francisco County (1856), New York City and five counties (1874), and Honolulu-Honolulu

<sup>1</sup> County governments are called Parishes in Louisiana and Boroughs in Alaska.

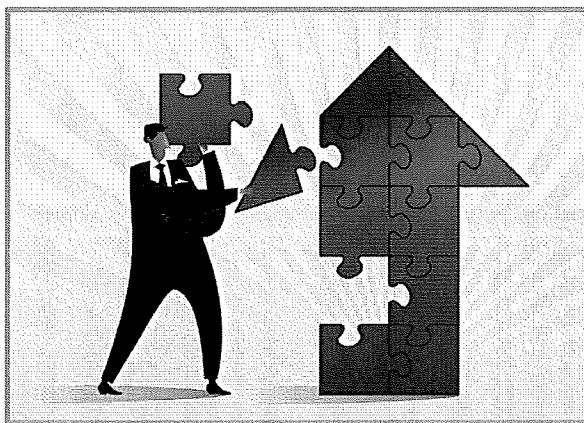
County (1907). All of these consolidations were completed through state legislative action. See Table I for a complete list of city-county consolidations.

After these consolidations, many state legislatures began to establish laws that allowed local governments to control the consolidation process in addition to needing state legislation. These new laws usually included a referendum of the citizens of the affected areas in order to consolidate.

With the move to voter referendums, more city-county consolidation proposals have failed through a popular vote than have passed. Since 1921, only 32 of the 162 attempts (20%) passed a voter referendum. (See Table 2 for a list of failed attempts at consolidation.) Additional attempts failed in committees or boards before even reaching the voters. For many counties, it took more than one attempt to secure voter support for consolidation.

## Reasons for Consolidation

Each jurisdiction has its own motivation for creating a consolidated government. One goal is to improve service delivery. Since many levels of government are providing similar services to their residents, inefficiencies in service delivery may exist that could be improved through economies of scale and combining functions. Other goals include to improve the image of the government, and to raise the ranking in the population size of the city.



A key reason in 13 city-county consolidation attempts studied by Leland and Thurmaier was economic development. All of the areas studied had a unified civic group that focused on the economic benefits of consolidation. Through consolidation, a single government could create an economic plan rather than a county and city promoting conflicting plans. In addition, businesses and developers desiring to move to the area could work with one unified government to obtain guidance on codes, ordinances, and the requirements for doing business in the consolidated area.

Rarely is saving money a stated goal of consolidation. While some money may be saved through improving efficiency, this is not the overall goal of creating a city-county consolidation. In general, the areas that sought consolidation were not in financial distress.

## Process of Consolidation

As previously stated, special state legislative action is almost always needed either to outline the process of the consolidation or to allow the creation of a charter.



For example, Kansas required the consolidation plan to be passed by the state legislature and signed by the Governor prior to voter approval. In Georgia, on the other hand, the state General Assembly authorizes the creation of a charter commission to outline the new structure of the consolidated government pending voter approval.

The threshold for voter approval needed for a consolidation also varies by state. In general, there are two types of benchmarks: single majority or dual majority. An area needing a single majority to pass the consolidation simply needs a majority of voters within the consolidation area to approve the merger. Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, and Louisiana allow approval through a single-majority vote.

A dual majority, on the other hand, requires the majority of voters in two areas. For example, a state may require the majority of voters within the consolidated area and a majority of voters within the major city. Alternatively, a state may require a majority of voters within a city and a majority of voters in the incorporated area of the county. Tennessee and Georgia both require a dual-majority for consolidation approval.

## Design of Local Government

The charter designed by local representatives or state legislation dictates the structure and function of the new consolidated government. The structure of the city-county council is usually a mix of representatives from districts throughout the area and at large members elected by the entire consolidated area. The districts help ensure representation for minority groups throughout the community. The at large representatives also help to ensure the council acts on the best interest of the entire community rather than just certain areas.

Most consolidations also have an elected executive voted on by the entire consolidated area, and have additional elected officials such as sheriffs, treasurers, district attorneys, controllers and others. Some of these elected officials may be required by the state constitution.

Almost all city-county consolidations include separate service and tax districts throughout the consolidated area. In general, there are two levels of service areas: General Service District and Urban Service District. The general service district includes the services

normally offered by a county that are provided to the entire consolidated area. These services include human services, courts, jails, and parks and recreation. More services may also be provided to the unincorporated areas that were not previously provided by the county such as trash collection, road and sidewalk maintenance, and police patrols.

The urban service district provides additional services to residents above those provided to the general service district. These services are usually provided to the same residents that previously received city services. For example, areas of the urban service district may receive additional police protection, a professional fire department, water, and sewer. These additional services are provided through additional taxation only on the residents of the urban district.

Other tax districts created prior to consolidation usually remain in place. For example, special service districts, school districts, or volunteer fire departments will continue to tax the affected areas in the same manner as prior to consolidation.

There may be additional municipalities that do not join the consolidated government. These areas may still receive county level services from the consolidated government, but additional city services are provided by the independent municipal government.

Another key component is the current financial debt of the local jurisdictions. In general, these debts remain separate. For example, the debt of a municipal electric power utility will only be paid by those residents within the previous municipal boundaries, and vice versa. Any debt incurred by the unincorporated area of the county will only be paid by those residents. This debt was reflected in the tax rate of the General Service District and the Urban Service District.

Finally, the Census Bureau designates these city-county consolidations as cities due to providing a level of city services. Some states may designate the areas as both a city and a county to be eligible for state funding to contribute to the two levels of services provided. These areas are designated as counties by the National Association of Counties due to providing county-level services.

## Keys for Approval

In reviewing the successes and failures for city-county consolidations, many scholars have identified key factors that may influence consolidation efforts. These factors can be divided into three main areas: Area Characteristics, Consolidation Charter, and The Referendum Campaign.

### Area Characteristics

The state in which the local government is located matters due to the variation of state law regarding consolidation. Some states have the requirements outlined in state statutes, others require special legislation in order to begin the charter creation process, and a few states impose strict rules that limit the success of consolidation. The process dictated by state law has a great impact on the variety of stakeholders involved in an attempted consolidation.

Community characteristics including economic, political, racial and social diversity may impact the consolidation process. If a gap exists between those in the city and those in the unincorporated area of the county, the consolidation process may face more opposition due to different interests of the communities.

The current financial state of both the city and the county is also a key factor. Debt held by both governments and the current taxation rates by each government will be carefully scrutinized prior to consolidation talks. In addition, the structure and funding of school districts is also a key element.

The current amount of interaction with the county and city governments may affect the ability and desire of consolidation. If many successful inter-local agreements are already in place, then an established foundation of collaboration may help ease the consolidation transition.

Finally, any type of major problems within the local government may cause citizens to be more open to governmental alternatives. This problem could be due to a change in population, a shift in economic resources, a political scandal, or lack of response to a local emergency by local officials.

## Consolidation Charter

A change in taxes for residents is a key component for the charter. Successful consolidation efforts have been able to minimize the change in tax rates. Many charters design separate taxing districts for those within the city and those in the unincorporated areas of the county.

The consolidation of law enforcement entities is another important charter issue. Eliminating the county Sheriff's office completely is more likely to cause opposition to the charter. An example of an alternative is having the Sheriff take over administrative duties of the courts and jails while allowing the police department to perform public safety duties. The charter must also stipulate if the Sheriff and Chief of Police are elected or appointed.

The size and structure of the council must be carefully considered under the consolidation charter. In general, councils which are smaller in size and include both district representatives, who represent designated populations, and at large representatives, who represent the area as a whole, are more likely to be approved by voters.

The appointment or election of an executive officer will also be addressed in the charter. In addition,

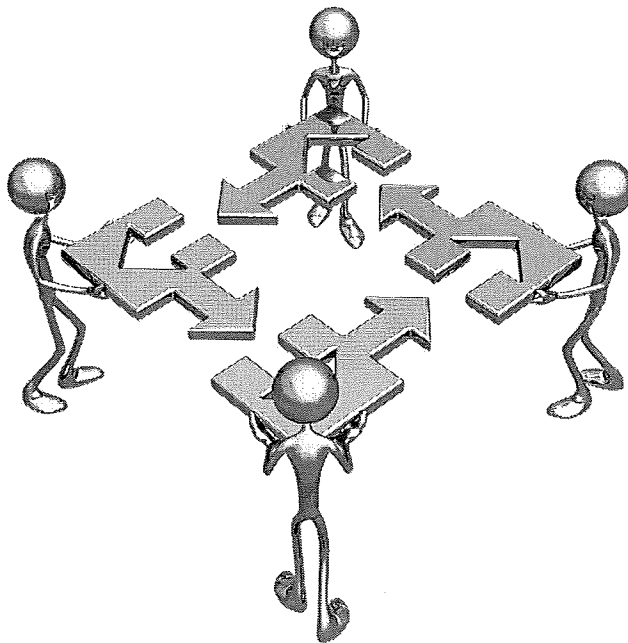
the consolidation of departments and the process of combining staff and benefits under the new government is usually addressed.

Finally, the status of minor municipalities and other special districts is usually clarified in the charter. Minor municipalities may or may not be included in the consolidation. If not included, these municipalities will most likely still receive county level services from the consolidated government, but the municipality will continue to provide city services. Special districts such as fire districts, school districts and others are usually specified as continuing to be independent or combining with the consolidated government.

## Referendum Campaign

As with all political efforts, the result of the referendum vote may be affected by the elites involved in each side of the campaign, and the funding and organization of each of the campaign efforts. In addition, the issues and arguments of the supporters and opponents may need to be targeted to a variety of audiences if the voter requires a dual-majority of voters.

In the end, it is up to voters to decide if the move to a consolidated government is the best for the local government and for their own economic or political interests.





# Case Studies

The following section contains five case studies of attempted government consolidations with three successful efforts and two unsuccessful efforts. The key issues outlined above that may influence the success of a consolidation effort are discussed for each example.

## Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia

Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia, successfully consolidated in 1995 after four failed consolidation attempts (1971, 1974, 1976, and 1988). The Georgia State Constitution sets the requirements for a city-county consolidation. It requires state authorization for a charter commission to create the consolidated charter and the State Assembly to authorize the item to be placed on the ballot. The consolidation must receive a dual-majority for passage, both majority support from residents within the city of Augusta and majority support from the voters in the entire county.

In 1971, neither majority was obtained. In 1974 and 1976, the charter failed to reach a majority in the county. In 1988, consolidation was approved by both constituencies, but was rejected by the Department of Justice under the Voting Rights Act for limiting the representation of minorities.<sup>2</sup>

As was common throughout the South, Augusta and Richmond County experienced a racial divide on government issues. In 1974 and 1976, a majority of white voters within Augusta favored consolidation while a majority of black voters in Richmond County opposed it. In the years leading up to the 1995 vote, there was a shift in population as the black population increased in both the city and the county and more black leaders were elected to local and state offices.

In addition to the shift in population, the city of Augusta was also experiencing financial trouble due to a declining tax base and a shift of people and jobs

outside of the city. The city attempted many different annexation attempts in order to increase its tax base, but the efforts faced opposition from the county government. In addition, the inclusion of the annexed portion into the city was required to obtain the approval of the Justice Department as part of the preclearance requirement of the Voting Rights Act.

After these previous attempts, both the city and the county government favored consolidation. The county favored overall consolidation rather than the city continuing attempts to annex county land and due to fear of a bankruptcy by the county's major city. The city favored consolidation to help with the city's financial problems, which continued to deteriorate in early 1995, and to improve economic development.

The 1995 charter was based on the 1988 charter with the necessary adjustments from opponents and the critique of the Department of Justice. Instead of modeling the government structure with a strong mayor, the 1995 charter limited the power of the chairperson by limiting the chairperson to two consecutive terms, only granting the chairperson voting power in case of a tie, and not allowing the chairperson to be a member of any committees. In addition, the election districts of the eight district representatives were more carefully drawn in order to ensure minority representation in compliance with the Voting Rights Act.

The 1995 charter merged all city and county services that were not already shared. It also created two service districts for those within the city of Augusta and those in the unincorporated area of the county to maintain current levels of taxation, services, and debt burdens. Due to the influential opposition generated in previous consolidation attempts, the elected county Sheriff was appointed as head of the combined law enforcement unit.

<sup>2</sup> Georgia is a preclearance state under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. If a county is subject to preclearance, any election law changes, including redistricting plans, which affect voting qualifications or procedures must be cleared by either the U.S. Department of Justice or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia before implementation. The jurisdiction must show that it is not discriminatory in either intent or effect in order to be cleared.



The success of the 1995 referendum campaign was built on the campaign in 1988. Some influential leaders in the black community who previously opposed consolidation, worked with the charter commission to ensure their issues were addressed. Local delegates in the General Assembly also provided support to consolidation. Although consolidation still faced opposition from the local chapter of the NAACP and local black churches, consolidation passed with predominately black precincts within the city narrowly supporting consolidation. Overall, consolidation passed in Richmond County with 66% supporting it and it passed in the City of Augusta with 77.5%. The Justice Department did not oppose the new charter.

## Wilmington/New Hanover County, North Carolina

Wilmington and New Hanover County, North Carolina, voted on consolidation four times (1927, 1973, 1987, and 1995) with each attempt failing to receive a majority vote. Since 1927, consolidation has been placed on the ballot eight times in North Carolina including four in Wilmington and New Hanover County, twice in Durham and Durham County, once in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, and once in Asheville and Buncombe County.

City-county consolidation is allowed by state statute in North Carolina. A referendum must be approved by a single majority of all voters and it must be approved by the General Assembly. In addition, The City-County Consolidation Act of 1973 defines city-county consolidation as that it "means any county where the largest municipality in the county has been abolished and its powers, duties, rights, privileges and immunities consolidated with those of the county."<sup>3</sup> In effect, a consolidation would abolish the largest municipality and the consolidated government would function as a county. The Act also requires urban service districts and allows additional taxation for these districts.

During the consolidation attempts of 1987 and 1995, the role of the chief law enforcement officer caused tension between the city and the county. The city of Wilmington has an appointed Chief of Police with a well-trained force of police officers. The Sheriff, on the only hand, is elected by the voters and has

complete autonomy over his deputies. Previously, the position of sheriff was abolished for an appointed police chief, which caused the current Sheriff and his supporters to oppose the consolidation.

The proposed consolidation plan outlined a council-manager form of government with a mayor and six council members serving four year terms. The charter also outlined a general service district for the entire county and an urban service district. The currently elected Sheriff was kept in place as the chief law enforcement official, with the position being appointed going forward.

A key issue in the consolidation debate was annexation. The state of North Carolina has some of the most liberal annexation laws for cities. In general, the 1959 annexation statute allows a city to petition for annexation any area that becomes characteristically urban.<sup>4</sup> Tension had risen between county officials and city officials due to the habit of the city to wait for the county to pay for infrastructure such as water and sewer and then the city would seek to annex the area. In addition, many residents of the unincorporated areas were in favor of consolidation rather than being annexed by the city government. These residents campaigned in conjunction with a few major businesses that supported it for economic development.

The opponents for consolidation varied in motivation. Many opponents have brought up the abolishing of the city as a loss of identity for city residents causing them to oppose consolidation. In addition, political conflict existed between city and county representatives due to uncertainty of city official's ability to be elected in the new county government. From a financial standpoint, city officials were worried that consolidation would hurt the city due to the weaker county financial standing and a recent undertaking of the county to build a new jail. Some of the main reasons for opposing consolidation, however, were due to the contentment with the status quo. Both the city and the county were financially sound and were adequately providing services to residents. In addition, there was confusion among voters of the effect consolidation would have on both tax levels and service levels. Finally, due to the short time allowed by state law to construct a consolidation plan, the

<sup>3</sup> N.C. Gen. Stat § 160B-2.

<sup>4</sup> NC GS § 160A-33-56c



most recent attempt at consolidation in Wilmington and New Hanover County failed with only 41.7% voting in favor of consolidation.

## Knoxville/Knox County, Tennessee

Although twelve different counties have attempted consolidation, only three of the twenty consolidation efforts in Tennessee have been successful since 1958. These successes include Nashville and Davidson County (1962), Lynchburg and Monroe County (1987), and Hartsville and Trousdale County (2000). The effort for consolidation in Knoxville and Knox County has failed four times with the most recent attempt in 1995.

A constitutional amendment in 1953 opened the door to allow city and county governments to consolidate. The General Assembly enacted statutes that specify the four required steps for consolidation. The first step is that a Charter commission must be established by the county and the major city within the county or through state legislation passed by both chambers

of the General Assembly. The second provision is that the commission has nine months to draft a proposed charter which must include a general service district and an urban service district with separate taxing rates, and all school systems must be consolidated under a new school board. Third, the commission must vote on the adoption of the charter, and if approved, the charter must be approved by a dual-majority: a majority of voters within the city and a majority of voters in the county area outside of the city. Finally, if the charter is approved by the voters, elections must be arranged for the new officials of the consolidated government.<sup>5</sup>

Supporters of consolidation expected 1996 to be different than the previous attempts at consolidation for a few key reasons. The City of Knoxville and Knox County school systems consolidated in 1987, with Knox County controlling all the schools in the city and county. In addition to removing this contentious issue,

5

Tenn. Code Ann.. § 7-2-101-107[b]

both city and county elected officials were in support of consolidation, unlike previous attempts. The city had also eliminated a larger portion of its debt, which had raised financial concerns in previous years.

The charter created a single commission with nineteen members elected from nine districts, with no at large representatives. The mayor would be the chief elected official and would be elected by the entire consolidated area. The charter kept term limits for elected officials that had been approved previously by Knox County.

Duplicated city and county departments would be eliminated with department heads appointed by the mayor with approval of the commission. The charter also stipulated changes for the police department and sheriff's office. The Chief of Police would be the top law enforcement officer. This officer, who would be appointed by the mayor, must have a bachelor's degree and ten years of experience in law enforcement. The Sheriff would only be responsible for jails, courts, and other corrections operations.

The charter proposed a general service district and an urban service district along with a moratorium on any increases in property taxes for three years. These provisions were to ensure those in the county area would receive the same level of services with the same taxation rates.

Supporters of consolidation included most local officials as well as a citizen group that spent more than \$350,000 to support the initiative. Supporters framed the effort as a unification rather than consolidation or merger. In addition, a cost-benefit analysis used by supporters showed that unification would save around \$11 million over five years.

Although opponents were not as well organized, they represented a wide cross section of the population. The county Sheriff was against consolidation before the charter proposal was created. In addition, public employees and their unions were against consolidation due to the employee terminations, questions as to future promotions, and lack of funds for staff needs due to the property tax freeze. Opponents also argued that the suggested savings of \$11 million over five years was less than 2% of the local government budget, and would result in less access to local government.

While consolidation was supported in the city 52% to 48%, the proposal was defeated in the county 36% to 64%. In interviews conducted by the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* after the election, county residents reported the reason for voting against consolidation was because they did not want to be part of the city.

## Kansas City/Wyandotte County, Kansas

The consolidation of Kansas City and Wyandotte County, Kansas, achieved a rare feat in 1997 by voters approving the consolidation referendum on the first attempt with over 60% of the vote in favor of consolidation. In addition, this was the first consolidation approved by referendum in the Midwest.

The consolidation attempt required special legislation by the Kansas State Legislature and approval of the Governor because the Kansas State Constitution does not allow city-county consolidation. Although consolidation was passed after the first voter referendum, the idea of consolidation began in 1968, but lacked community support to move forward. In early 1996, the state legislature voted for the creation of a five person commission to decide if consolidation was a potential option for residents. This commission could recommend one of three options to the Governor: full structural consolidation, functional consolidation, or no consolidation.

After holding over thirty public hearings debating each plan, the commission recommended full structural consolidation. The new governing body would consist of 10 members with eight elected by districts and two elected at large. The mayor was elected at large by the entire consolidated area. The sheriff and register of deeds also remained elected positions. The consolidation also included a general service district and an urban service district. The five independent school districts were not included in consolidation.

Both the city and the county were facing serious political and economic issues prior to consolidation. Since 1950, the city had seen a population decline of 11%, an increasing minority population, and a widening gap in income between residents in the city and the incorporated county. Property tax rates in the county were the highest in the state as well as the unemployment rate. In addition, both the city and the county had been

Supporters of the consolidation promoted it to residents as an opportunity to improve the professionalism and efficiency of local government. Two prominent local businessmen and the recently elected mayor supported the consolidation effort and attended the public hearings to address public concerns. The two local newspapers also endorsed consolidation with the *Kansas City Star* and the *Kansas City Kansan* providing coverage of all of the hearings.

opinion of consolidation, prominent officials ensured that the district lines were drawn to maintain minority representation in two of the eight districts.

To pass consolidation, a single majority of residents of Wyandotte County had to approve consolidation. In April 1997, consolidation passed with 60% of the vote to form the Unified Government of Wyandotte County/Kansas City, Kansas.

Louisville/Jefferson County,  
Kentucky

After three previous attempts at consolidation (1956, 1982, and 1983), the voters of Jefferson County, Kentucky, approved the consolidation of Louisville and Jefferson County governments. In Kentucky, the General Assembly must pass legislation to allow for the



consideration of consolidation. The City of Lexington and Fayette County were consolidated in 1974.

The General Assembly appointed a 56 member board of local officials to analyze the option of consolidation. Unlike most consolidation processes, this board was not a charter commission that created a charter for consolidation. The board was created simply to recommend whether or not a vote should be held on consolidation.

Because the board did not have to create a charter, the details of the consolidated government were intentionally left vague. The referendum question to the voters was simply "Are you in favor of combining the City of Louisville and Jefferson County into a single government with a mayor and legislative council, keeping all other cities, fire protection districts and special districts in existence?" No other details about the structure or function of the government were provided.

The population change of the area was a key element in the push for consolidation. The city lost over 30% of its population from 1950 to 2000, while the rest of the county grew by 279% during the same period. But the real issue for the area was remaining a population center for the area and the state. The consolidated government of Lexington and Fayette County would be ranked above the city of Louisville in population in 2000. In addition, with the merger into one government, Louisville would increase in standing from the fifty-eighth largest city to the twenty-third largest city since the Census Bureau classifies consolidated governments as cities.

The county and city governments had a prior history of working together. After a contentious annexation debate in the early 1980s, the city and county agreed to a compact in 1986. This compact set the groundwork for intergovernmental cooperation and allowed more efficient sharing of services and tax revenues with the city and county governments.

Despite the partnership of the county and city government to provide services, the two governments still lacked a unified economic development policy. Local leaders in Louisville saw consolidation as a way to improve the local economic development. Other consolidated governments such as Nashville, Indianapolis, and Jacksonville, saw an increase in

population and an improved economy. Local business leaders supported consolidation in order to create a unified economic development plan and one regional voice to be heard by the state General Assembly.

Supporters of consolidation joined together to form a Unity campaign in favor of consolidation. Many prominent elected officials and business leaders joined this effort. Supporters were content with the details of the consolidation plan to remain vague. Other than a combined legislative body, no additional details such as service districts or tax rates were outlined. Supporters promoted the idea that all tax and service levels will remain the same unless the new government made changes. In addition, the ability of Louisville to regain the top population area in Kentucky was a main focus by the well-funded and well-organized campaign.

The opponents of consolidation were less organized than previous consolidation attempts. Although groups such as unions, small cities, and many members of the city Board of Alderman opposed consolidation, they were outmatched by the funding and organization of the supporters campaign. In addition, without specific details of the charter outlined, key issues these groups had previously opposed were nonissues in the campaign.

The proposal was on the ballot for the 2000 general election to ensure high voter turnout. The consolidation referendum passed the county wide vote 54% to 46%.

## Conclusion

County governments are creatures of the states in which they are located. In order for consolidation to be an option, state government must stipulate this as option in state statutes or provide special legislation for it to be pursued. Although there are many reasons for consolidation, economic development has been a key issue for most localities pursuing this option. The details of the charter may create competing groups of supporters and opponents. The structure, financing, and organization of these campaigns are just as important as the charter itself. Most importantly, the residents of the consolidation area must be educated as to the effect of the change and must be convinced it is the right step for their local government.



# Table 1: Successful Consolidations

Year	City/County
1805	New Orleans-Orleans Parish, Louisiana*
1821	Boston-Suffolk County, Massachusetts*
1821	Nantucket Town-Nantucket County, Massachusetts*
1854	Philadelphia-Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania*
1856	San Francisco-San Francisco County, California*
1874	New York City (5 Counties), New York*
1902	Denver-Denver County, Colorado*
1907	Honolulu-Honolulu County, Hawaii*
1947	Baton Rouge/East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana
1952	Hampton & Phoebus/Elizabeth City County, Virginia
1957	Newport News/Warwick County, Virginia
1962	Nashville/Davidson County, Tennessee
1962	South Norfolk/Norfolk County, Virginia
1962	Virginia Beach/Princess Anne County, Virginia
1967	Jacksonville/Duval County, Florida
1969	Carson City/Ormsby County, Nevada
1969	Juneau & Douglas/Greater Juneau Borough, Alaska
1970	Columbus/Muscogee County, Georgia

Year	City/County
1971	Holland & Whaleyville/Nansemond County, Virginia
1971	Sitka/Greater Sitka Borough, Alaska
1972	Lexington/Fayette County, Kentucky
1972	Suffolk/Nansemond County, Virginia
1975	Anchorage, Glen Alps, & Girdwood/Greater Anchorage Area Borough, Alaska
1976	Anaconda/Deer Lodge County, Montana
1976	Butte/Silver Bow County, Montana
1981	Houma/Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana
1987	Lynchburg/Moore County, Tennessee
1990	Athens/Clarke County, Georgia
1992	Lafayette/Lafayette Parish, Louisiana
1992	Yakutat/Yakuta Borough, AK
1995	Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia
1997	Kansas City/Wyandotte County, Kansas
2000	Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky
2000	Hartsville/Troosdale County, Tennessee
2001	Broomfield, Colorado**
2002	Haines City/Haines Borough, AK
2003	Cusseta City/Chattahoochee County, GA
2006	Georgetown/Quitman County, GA
2007	Tribune/Greeley County, KS
2008	Preston/Webster County, GA
2008	Statenville/Echols County, GA

\* Notes consolidations that were created legislatively

\*\* New county was created legislatively to encompass the entire city of Broomfield. New government called City and County of Broomfield.

## Table 2: Unsuccessful Attempts at Consolidations

Year	City/County
1921	Oakland/Alameda County, California
1924	Butte/Silver Bow County, Montana
1926	St. Louis/St. Louis County, Missouri
1927	Portland/Multnomah County, Oregon
1932	Pittsburgh/Allegheny County, Pennsylvania
1933	Several cities/Ravalli County, Montana
1933	Wilmington/New Hanover County, North Carolina
1933	Macon/Bibb County, Georgia
1935	Jacksonville/Duval County, Florida
1948	Birmingham/Jefferson County, Alabama
1948	Miami/Dade County, Florida
1950	Hampton, Newport News, & Phoebus/ Warwick & Elizabeth City Counties, Virginia
1953	Miami/Dade County, Florida
1954	Albany/Dougherty County, Georgia
1956	Albany/Dougherty County, Georgia
1958	Nashville/Davidson County, Tennessee
1959	Albuquerque/Bernalillo County, New Mexico
1959	Knoxville/Knox County, Tennessee
1960	Macon/Bibb County, Georgia
1960	Several cities/Ravalli County, Montana
1961	Durham/Durham County, North Carolina
1961	Richmond/Henrico County, Virginia
1962	Chattanooga/Hamilton County, Tennessee
1962	Columbus/Muscogee County, Georgia
1962	Memphis/Shelby County, Tennessee
1962	St. Louis/St. Louis County, Missouri
1964	Chattanooga/Hamilton County, Tennessee
1967	Tampa/Hillsborough County, Florida
1969	Athens/Clarke County, Georgia
1969	Brunswick/Glynn County, Georgia
1969	Roanoke/Roanoke County, Virginia
1969	Winchester/Frederick County, Virginia
1970	Anchorage/Greater Anchorage Area Borough, Alaska

Year	City/County
1970	Charlottesville/Albermarle County, Virginia
1970	Chattanooga/Hamilton County, Tennessee
1970	Pensacola/Escambia County, Florida
1970	Tampa/Hillsborough County, Florida
1971	Anchorage/Greater Anchorage Area Borough, Alaska
1971	Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia
1971	Bristol/Washington County, Virginia
1971	Charlotte/Mecklenburg County, North Carolina
1971	Memphis/Shelby County, Tennessee
1971	Tallahassee/Leon County, Florida
1972	Athens/Clarke County, Georgia
1972	Macon/Bibb County, Georgia
1972	Fort Pierce/St. Lucie County, Florida
1972	Tampa/Hillsborough County, Florida
1972	St. Louis/St. Louis County, Missouri
1973	Albuquerque/Bernalillo County, New Mexico
1973	Columbus/Richland County, South Carolina
1973	Savannah/Chatham County, Georgia
1973	Tallahassee/Leon County, Florida
1973	Wilmington/New Hanover County, North Carolina
1974	Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia
1974	Charleston/Charleston County, South Carolina
1974	Durham/Durham County, North Carolina
1974	Evansville/Vanderburgh County, Indiana
1974	Portland/Multnomah County, Oregon
1974	Sacramento/Sacramento County, California
1975	Ashland & Catlettsburg/Boyd County, Kentucky
1975	Missoula/Missoula County, Montana
1975	Salt Lake/Salt Lake County, Utah
1975	Gainesville/Alachua County, Florida
1976	Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia

\* Consolidation was passed by the voters by overturned by the Department of Justice under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act



*Table 2: Unsuccessful Attempts at Consolidations (continued)*

Year	City/County
1976	Gainesville/Alachua County, Florida
1976	Front Royal/Warren County, Virginia
1976	Macon/Bibb County, Georgia
1976	Moab/Grand County, Utah
1976	Tallahassee/Leon County, Florida
1978	Knoxville/Knox County, Tennessee
1978	Morristown/Hamblen County, Tennessee
1978	Salt Lake/Salt Lake County, Utah
1979	Okeechobee/Okeechobee County, Florida
1981	Kingsport/Sullivan County, Tennessee
1981	Clarksville/Montgomery County, Tennessee
1982	Athens/Clarke County, Georgia
1982	Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky
1982	Asheville/Buncombe County, North Carolina
1983	Dublin & Pulaski/Pulaski County, Virginia
1983	Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky
1983	Missoula/Missoula County, Montana
1984	Tifton/Tift County, Georgia
1984	Staunton/Augusta County, Virginia
1984	Chattanooga/Hamilton County, Tennessee
1985	Volusia Area/Halifax County, Florida
1986	Lakeland/Lanier County, Georgia
1987	Brunswick/Glynn County, Georgia
1987	Wilmington/New Hanover County, North Carolina
1987	Jackson/Madison County, Tennessee
1987	Clifton Forge & Covington/Alleghany County, Virginia
1987	Emporia/Greenville County, Virginia
1988	Sparta/White County, Tennessee
1988	Kingsport/Sullivan County, Tennessee
1988	Augusta/Richmond County, Georgia*
1989	Georgetown/Scott County, Kentucky
1989	Frankfort/Franklin County, Kentucky
1989	Conyers/Rockdale County, Georgia

Year	City/County
1989	Okeechobee/Okeechobee County, Florida
1990	Gainesville/Alachua County, Florida
1990	Sacramento/Sacramento County, California
1990	Roanoke/Roanoke County, Virginia
1990	Owensboro/Davis County, Kentucky
1990	Bowling Green/Warren County, Kentucky
1991	Griffin/Spalding County, Georgia
1992	Ashland & Catlettsburg/Boyd County, Kentucky
1992	Tallahassee/Leon County, FL
1994	Des Moines/Polk County, Iowa
1994	Douglasville/Douglas County, Georgia
1994	Metter/Candler County, Georgia
1995	Wilmington/New Hanover County, North Carolina
1995	Spokane/Spokane County, Washington
1995	Bedford/Bedford County, VA
1996	Clarksville/Montgomery County, TN
1996	Knoxville/Knox County, TX
1997	Griffin/Spaulding County, GA
1998	Haines/Haines Borough, AK
1998	Waycross/Ware County, GA
2000	McMinnville/Warren County, TN
2000	Hawkinsville /Pulaski County, Georgia
2001	Fairbanks/Fairbanks Borough, AK
2001	Ketchikan/Ketchikan Borough, AK
2001	Gainesville, Hall County, GA
2001	Tulahoma/Coffee County, IN
2002	Campbellsville/Taylor County, KY
2003	Albuquerque/Bernallilo County, NM
2004	Des Moines/Polk County, Iowa
2004	Albuquerque/Bernallilo County, NM
2004	Frankfort/Franklin County, KY
2005	Topeka/Shawnee County, KS
2010	Memphis/Shelby County, TN

\* Consolidation was passed by the voters by overturned by the Department of Justice under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act

# Bibliography

Carr, Jered B. and Richard C. Feiock, eds. *City-County Consolidations and Its Alternatives: Reshaping the Local Government Landscape*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, Inc., 2004.

Pennsylvania Economy League of Southwestern Pennsylvania. *A Comparative Analysis of City/County Consolidation* 7 February 2007, [www.allegbenyconference.org/PEL/PDFs/CityCountyConsolidationsComparativeAnalysis.pdf](http://www.allegbenyconference.org/PEL/PDFs/CityCountyConsolidationsComparativeAnalysis.pdf)

Leland, Suzanne and Kurt Thurmaier, eds. *Case Studies of City-County Consolidations: Reshaping the Local Government Landscape*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, Inc., 2004.

Keim, D. "Leaders Mullin Next Moves After Unification Loss." *Knoxville News-Sentinel* 11 Nov. A1, A3.

Keim, D. "Urgency for Change Lacking, Say Unity Proponents." *Knoxville News-Sentinel* 7 Nov. A1,A6.

Lawrence, David M. "Interlocal Cooperation, Regional Organizations, and City-County Consolidations" *County and Municipal Government in North Carolina*. 2007. <http://sogpubs.unc.edu/cm/cmg10.pdf>

